FREE SOCIETY

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An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

VOL. VI. NO. ~~10.~~ 16 SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, MARCH 4, 1900. WHOLE NO. 256.

THE WORST GOVERNMENT ON EARTH.

"On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, rose in Congress, in obedience to the command of his State, and moved a resolution, 'That the united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States.' John Adams seconded the motion. It led to a great debate, which evinced that New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and South Carolina were not quite ready for so radical a step. Postponement was therefore had till July 1, a committee meantime being appointed to draft a declaration.

"On July 2, after further long debate, participated in by John Adams, Dickinson, Wilson, and many others of the ablest men in Congress, not all, even now, favorable to the measure, the famous Declaration of Independence was adopted by vote of all the colonies but New York, whose representatives abstained from voting for lack of sufficiently definite instructions." (E. Benjamin Andrews' History of the United States.)

The Declaration of Independence begins:

"The unanimous declaration of the thirteen United States of America.

"When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

If the document had ended here it might then have been considered famous, notwithstanding the mistake of saying "that they *should* declare the causes which impel them to the separation," and the erroneous expression "that all men are created equal," instead of *with* equal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; but by proceeding to "institute a new government," they made the declaration infamous, for, according to the historian, New York abstained from voting, so that the infamous declaration began with the lie "the unanimous;" and in framing a government they doubted the people and gave the direct lie to liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Alexander Hamilton endeavored to have a president and senate elected for life. He was the chief of the monarchical party, and he knew that president was but another name for a king and was probably looking for the position.

The vicious way in which our law-makers are foisted upon us, and the equally vicious administration of the iniquitous laws are well illustrated by a paragraph in The Star of this city:

"A favorite way Senator Clark of Montana had of bribing legislators was to have them sit down with one or more of his friends and play poker or faro. It didn't matter whether they knew anything about the game or not; they were permitted to win from five to twenty thousand dollars, the sum being regulated by the price of the man. An ex-judge of the supreme court of this city used to be bribed that way. He would sit up in the Pacific Union Club until the 'wee sma' hours' playing cards with the attorney of some litigant whose case he was to decide at 10 o'clock in the morning. The judge never lost, but always won, according to the amount involved in or importance of the case. His verdicts were invariably in favor of the man who lost."

No lawyer in America knows the laws of the country; three days is the usual time required by most lawyers in this city to look up an opinion on almost any subject about which they are consulted.

A rich man's wife in Chicago a few days ago was robbed of money and jewels. The thief was caught by the police, the rich man induced the police to make the robber confess, and then at the rich man's request liberated without trial, and the rich man further rewarded the thief with money to keep his mouth shut on certain incidents of the robbery.

There is but one nation on earth whose government decides the prices of all necessities of life, and that nation is the United States of America, who are governed by trusts. The paper trust is now destroying the free press, and should they complete this wickedness, Labor's slavery will be past redemption.

History records one instance only of a nation whose constitution admits that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, buying 10,000,000 people at $2 per head like cattle from another government who did not own them, of whom one of America's generals, Otis, said: "The desire for independence is a 'craze' among the Filipinos." And another of the nation's trained butchers, Funston, "hopes that when the Filipinos are conquered they will be made to feel for many years the iron hand of military rule, the only kind for which they are suited." So to carry out the iron rule, government begins killing off their $2 children at a cost of $4,000 a head, quieting the tax payers by promising to reduce the cost of murder to $3,500 each as they kill more of them.

No other government on earth allows its senators to squeeze $810,555.26 in addition to their salaries out of the life-blood of the Labor of the country; this extra expense being for carriage hire, drink, boot-blacking, hair-cutting, shaving, ice, lemons, sugar, etc., in short, for all the various adjuncts necessary for a first class club. The United States government does this.

The Civil War cost $6,508,429,909 in money, and that does not represent one half of the actual loss to the people of the United States. The loss of life and limb cannot be estimated by the "in-god-we-trust" lying coins. Slavery can only be instituted and maintained by government. American Labor is now in a more pitiable and degraded condition than that of chattel slavery, and it is open to dispute if this was not the end that was intended to be gained by the money power as the ultimate result of the Civil War. The pious church member Carnegie could not have made an income of $24,867,500 in twelve months, as Frick, his manager, says he will this year, if he had worked slaves to death and had to buy others to fill their places, or fed, clothed and housed the slaves so that they were in a condition to work and paid a sufficient number of Legree's to drive them, and also paid for the necessary number of whips, or even buried those who died. The government attends to all these small matters for Blow-hole plates Carnegie.

Official statistics show the wealth of the United States to be $82,000,000,000; of this $40,000,000,000 is bonded and mortgaged through monopoly and government; the annual increase of this debt by governmental interest law is $3,000,000,000. There are more than 9,000,000,000 mortgages on American homes and lands; 50,000,000,000 in the United States do not own their homes.

The United States government has given 210,000,000 acres of the people's land to railroad corporations, equal to 52½ acres to each of the 4,000,000 tramps who are now *dis*-employed, not allowed, in fact, by government to employ themselves, and who are tramping the country looking for some who will give them the *privilege of working for them*. And yet some still say we could not live without government. Such a statement in truth applies to millionaires only. Under the ideal of Anarchy these 4,000,000 would be the loving heads of happy families.

One specimen—from a gross lot—of the kind of men American government breeds. Spreckels asked Mayor Phelan for a seat on the Police Commission in this city and was refused, and forthwith expressed his opinion of Phelan, in his organ, the Call, as follows:

"He has placed himself upon a plane of fellowship with the criminal and preying classes of the city. He has been guilty of an offense which the laws make a felony, in binding himself by ante-election pledges and seeking to force honorable men to share the shame of prostitution. He has tried to deliver into unclean hands an instrument which can be made an engine of the greatest crime. To pander to his lust of ambition he has sought to place the young men of the city at the mercy of scheming blacklegs and the young women within the claws of social vultures. He has winked at the evils of cosmopolitan life and then with a sneer he has taken refuge behind the screen of that authority which the people of this city, ignorant of his criminal selfishness, have placed in his hands."

Thanks, Spreckels, for thus exposing the inwards of government.

Mr. Cockrell, in referring to the proposition in the House bill to fix the standard of gold, declared, "Such unblushing repudiation of legislative obligations have not been proposed in the history of the country. It was a plain violation of the Constitution, which provides that each State shall make gold *and* silver coin legal tender, *not* gold *or* silver." Mr. Cockrell need not worry: the money power will do exactly as it pleases,—it will pass the gold standard bill, thus submitting to *English rule* and damning the people; then it will contract the medium of exchange by calling in about $350,000,000 greenbacks—the nearest approach to honest money and, moreover they omit the "in-god-we-trust" lie—and down will go Labor, and up will go the products of Labor. Trusts will then have still more copious draughts of human blood, unless a general strike against all government saves those who toil from this final squeeze which, if accomplished, will prove to be the fatal kicking strap.

In Philadelphia, where the Declaration of Independence was signed, at the late by-election 35,000 fraudulent ballots were returned in the "official count." In the State and national elections the number of bogus ballots counted in the city's vote was about 80,000, in some precincts the number of fraudulent ballots was twice as many as the genuine vote cast. In Pennsylvania election day is known as "a holiday in hell." Anarchists will have nothing to do with ballots which cause hell.

Here the jury (the readers) got restless and asked that the long array of further witnesses, which they saw waiting to testify, might be dismissed as they considered the case against the government most fully proven.

KINGHORN-JONES.

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PROPACANDA AMONG THE FARMERS.

James F. Morton delivered three addresses to the farmers of this commuuity. His subjects were as follows: "What Liberty Means," "The Battle for Free Speech," and "Ideal Anarchy." As an opening wedge to let in light on mental darkness these questions cannot be excelled.

Comrade Morton's sincerity and broad-minded tolerance in handling the subject wins his hearers' attention and good will, so that they are more accessible to his sledge-hammer logic. By intellectual conviction Morton became a radical, and by eloquent appeals to the reasoning faculties of his fellows he endeavors to arouse them to an energetic solution of the problems that confront us today. To every candid mind he demonstrates that government is a failure; in return they must finally accept the ideal of liberty, or confess that progress is impossible and be content with stagnation and the decay of every independent aspiration. What man or woman can submit to such degradation?

As the Anarchist movement strengthens, I hope the farmers will receive their share of the propaganda. Several conservative farmers declared that Comrade Morton "talked sense." As a class farmers have an antipathy towards politicians. Their county officials furnish them with ample proof of the corruptness of politics. Many of them vote, with a feeling that, while it is a nauseous dose, they cannot help matters. The agriculturist feels that he is but a catspaw in the hands of political intriguers, who, when he has helped them grind their ax, openly despises the simple farmer, (who, by the way, is not always as simple as they take him to be). On the whole we are well pleased with the results of the meetings. I hope—a Comrade Morton will soon depart on his way westward—that the radical element will co-operate with his valiant efforts as much as possible. A little effort from each, amounts to a whole lot in the end. Close up the ranks, comrades; our principles are invincible, like some of the grand workers in the cause.

KATE AUSTIN.

Caplinger Mills, Mo.

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"Nothing is so much to be feared as fear. Atheism may comparatively be popular with God himself."

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Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal: absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

RESPONSIBILITY AND SOLIDARITY IN THE LABOR STRUGGLE:

THEIR PRESENT LIMITS AND THEIR POSSIBLE EXTENSION.

(The substance of a paper read on December 5, 1899, before the Freedom Discussion Group, London, by M. Nettlau.)

The following remarks, based on an article published by me in Freedom, November 1897, must not be understood as wishing to replace direct Anarchist propaganda by a "remedy" or a "hobby," they simply raise a general subject which has been, as far as I know and am told, neglected up till now: the possibility of some new form and combination in the labor struggle; and I am anxious for Anarchist criticism, which, apart from the general possibility, has to examine whether the means suggested are on the road to freedom or the contrary; consequently, whether they merit the support of Anarchists or not.

Progress in the labor movement seems to me to be desperately slow after all. The ideas that to us appear so clear, self-evident and acceptable, often meet with such an amount of prejudice and ignorance that it may be doubtful whether great masses will ever consciously and seriously accept them unless they see before them real changes, or at least object lessons on the largest scale. And even where such object lessons already exist to a certain degree, when the economic solidarity of labor is demonstrated not by the propaganda of free ideas, but by direct material advantages, however small they are—as in the case of trade unionism and co-operation—the real bulk of the masses does not get in proper touch with them in spite of a century's agitation and propaganda.

Whether this pessimistic view is justified or not, the usefulness of finding new means, if possible, of strengthening the position of labor will not be contested; and many permanent or passing means of action have been suggested, and even tried, during late years: such as the *general strike*, the *military strike*, the *international miners' strike*, the march of the unemployed or strikers toward the capital (in America and recently in France), the *Sabotage* (slow and spoiled work, "go canny," advocated in France), etc. Efforts are also made to use organized labor or the working classes as producers and consumers for direct economic action, viz., a combination of trade unionism and co-operation, co-operative colonies, the labor exchange, (the American expression for the direct exchange of the products of labor) etc. And it is in this connection that I venture to suggest some other means still. The position of Anarchists toward it, can only be the same as toward the other means just mentioned, namely practical help when possible, but no deviation from the propaganda of our full and ultimate aims of free men in a free society.

What is wanted, besides the direct intellectual propaganda of Anarchist ideas and real revolutionary action, which is independent of all preliminary discussion, seems to be that large and increasing masses of the people should be brought to understand and embrace the principle of *human dignity and freedom* and of *solidarity* and try to live up to these principles. It is further necessary that the insperable connection of both principles be recognized; for the first principle alone, if superficially interpreted, may lead to individualist self-seeking, reckless advance on the shoulder of our fellows, while solidarity without personal dignity and freedom is just what we see around us today and what hurts us at every moment—the solidarity of the compact majority with the worst features of the present system: competition, patriotism, religion, political parties, etc. Consequently, a full and conscious combination of the feelings of freedom and solidarity is necessary, and people advanced thus far will be more inclined to accept our ideas, nay, more able to understand them than many strata of the population today. So I think I may be right in fixing this as a criterion, a touchstone of possible means of action; and means of action which do not come up to it ought to be improved upon.

Before entering on my subject proper, I must state my opinions on two subjects about which I am, I believe, a heretic from current economic creeds and, in any case, from the usual arguments in agitation. My further conclusions will be based upon these two preliminary points.

One of them deals with what is called *the public*, and my belief is that this factor is too little taken into consideration in labor struggles. The workers of a trade are organized and fight hard for the betterment of their economic positions; the employers of labor do the same and may be forced, by successful strikes or by the power of a strong trade union, to make concessions to labor. But the consumers of the products of that trade are, as a rule, not organized at all, and do nothing to get *their* interest efficiently served and at the smallest possible cost; and hence it is only natural that the capitalists endeavor to, and succeed, in getting almost the full price of their concessions to labor back from the buying public. Labor, so far as I know, takes no interest in this, the final settlement of the struggle. So prices go up or the quality of the product becomes inferior; and the public pays the cost of concessions wrung by labor from capital, as the weakest party necessarily must.

Now, who are the public? All consumers, of course; but for the present purpose I may divide them into two sections: those with *large* incomes whom the fluctuations of prices do not seriously affect (and they may be left out of consideration here), and the immense mass of *lesser* and *small* incomes whom the slightest alteration in prices inconveniences or really hurts, deprives and drags further down. Considerable numbers of these may cheerfully bear the new burden, the outcome of a successful strike of their fellow workers, either as convinced Socialists and Anarchists or from the instinctive feeling of solidarity and love of fair play that makes them the basis of our hopes for a brighter future; but I feel that I should delude myself if I shut my eyes to the fact that the great mass, not touched by progressive ideas and noble sentiments (if they were, how could they bear with the present system?), feel no increase of sympathy for organized labor in such cases, and remain dull, indifferent, if not prejudiced and hostile, as before. I imagine, for instance, that if during a miners' strike the husband, say a laborer, sympathizes with the strikers and even willingly subscribes a few cents toward their funds, the wife—who has to make both ends meet as before on the same wages, with coal at famine prices—will be far from sharing his sympathy in many cases and will not fail to bring this fact home to him, and so the feelings of both will neutralize each other at the best.

Strikes of this kind, then, leave things unchanged economically and morally, even if the strikers be victorious. For the economic concessions are shifted by the capitalist on the shoulders of the buying public, and are most bitterly felt by the mass of the workers the poorer they are; and the moral elevation and enthusiasm of the strikers and their sympathizers are balanced by the depression and dumb hostility of the masses remaining—who must really pay the bill.

It would, therefore, be useful if means were found by which *the public (the masses of the workers)* could be *interested in a material, and not only in a sentimental way, as well as the strikers themselves.* Once interested seriously their help may be enormous: as, besides sympathy and subscriptions, they can wield that most powerful weapon—the *boycott*.

This is the first of my two preliminary points.

The second heretical opinion of mine concerns *the responsibility of the workers for the work they do.* This responsibility is not recognized at present to any extent. It is customary to condsider a man an honest workingman if he works for wages—*never mind what he does.* There is hardly any occupation which is shunned and execrated in an effective way, to make people seriously ashamed of it, however mean and infamous it may be. Apart from the drastic example of tenders for the hangman's post, when we sometimes read that persons of all occupations come forward, workers and middle class,—is it not the height of ambition of many to be a policeman, and are not policemen as well as soldiers fed to a large extent by foolish women of the people, poor slaves and cooks? Soldiers, who in this country enlist voluntarily, know that their usual occupation will not be to defend "their country" which nobody attacks; but to repress one after the other rebellions of poor, badly armed natives, and to do this as mercilessly as possible so that each rebellion be crushed in the beginning and may not spread. Young fellows, then, are not ashamed to enlist for this continuous police and hangman's work, nor are the masses of the people ashamed to be friends with soldiers. Again, there is never a scarcity of broker's men, rent and tax collectors, land agents and crowbarmen in Ireland, etc. So-called public opinion, which talks so much of humanity and civilization, seems to overlook these fiends in our midst; and, if it takes notice of them, it is to commiserate them as it is *not their fault.*

I go further and say: while these scum of mankind enjoy little popularity after all with most people, *nefarious* trades and occupations are carried on by much larger bodies of men to whom no one seems to take an objection. I mean the vast mass of workers who do the manual work in producing the *inferior houses, inferior clothing, inferior food* and so forth, which degrade the lives, drag down the minds and ruin the bodies of their own fellow workers. Who built the slums, and—which is worse—who keeps them in a state that permits their continuous exploitation, by patching them up again and again with sham repairs? Who produces the shoddy clothes, the abominable food and drink which the poor alone buy? Who, finally, palms them off on the public, the poor—after others have made them look bright outside, if this trouble is taken at all—by any amount of persuasion, plainly spoken by false pretences and lies? All this is done (though inspired by the capitalists, no doubt, who alone profit by it) by large branches of the hard working, respected and well organized building, textile and mercantile trades. This is repulsive and revolting to me, and I see no excuse for it if no effort is ever made to recognize and to admit the fact at all, much less to do away with it.

At the bottom lays the old, indifferent saying: "I must do it; I cannot afford to pick my work. If I do not do it, somebody else will. I do not profit by it; I would myself prefer to do really useful work. *But I am not responsible for it: the responsibility rests on the employer who orders me to do as I do.*"

My opinion is that as long as this shirking, mercenary excuse is *recognized and generally accepted*, things must continue as at present and a brighter future will never come. Capitalists, according to this view, will always be able to hire one half of the workers to repress the other half. They will, moreover, continue to keep the bulk of the workers in mental and physical degradation, weakened, void of energy, ignoring even most of the endless joys of life, through their dull, depressing surroundings, the poorness of the food which builds up their bodies and brains. And the practical, manual work of doing this is done by the workers themselves—who suffer from it personally as well as the rest. Direct murder, say by soldiers who shoot strikers, and and this indirect murder by producing with their own toil the horrible surroundings, food, etc., which wreck their fellow workers—both actions are equally detrimental in their consequences and must be recognized as such before an improvement is to be thought of.

This is what I call the responsibility of the workers for what they do. And I further say that the absence of this feeling of responsibility degrades these workers themselves, as well as their victims. No one will deny that policemen and soldiers are degraded and brutalized by their continuous exercise of professional manhunting, treachery and murder on sight. I do not hesitate to say that the same happens to workers who exercise crafts and trades based on deceit. Take, for example, the plumber who continually makes people believe that he repairs the pipes and drains, yet never does such a thing, or the shop-assistant who spends the day in making people buy, not what they want, but what the shopowner wants to get rid of first because it brings the largest profit, or because it won't keep any longer. I do not think that the character of these men—honest, hard-working and personally kind though they may be at the beginning—improves in the long run and is more likely to become callous and indifferent than free and enthusiastic. In the same way, the multitude of producers of inferior and indifferent goods cannot possibly take an interest in their work. But no man can live without such an interest in his work or his faculties will be stunned, his intellect will shrink and he will, in the end, become unable to grasp even the ideas of freedom and revolt, much less to act on them. Compare these men with those depicted by Wm. Morris in the "Revival of Handicraft," "News from Nowhere," etc., and it becomes clear what I mean.

So everybody is bound to be a victim of this, as the perpetrators of unsocial acts never fail to be victims thereof themselves. All workingmen execrate spies and informers; most of them execrate blacklegs

(scabs): unless this feeling is extended to all *who do unsocial work, work that is injurious to their fellow men*, I cannot see hope in the future.

This is the second preliminary point, and I have at last arrived at the main subject, which will be dealt with more briefly as the ground has been cleared by these remarks.

(To be concluded.)

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SQUIBS.

If any one thinks that the movement is dead in Portland they should have been at the meetings held on the 2nd and 3d of February. It cannot be said that curiosity to see the "far-famed Herr Most," was what drew the crowd, for when it was announced that Comrade Most would not speak at the meeting on the evening of the second, the crowd stayed to hear of *Anarchy*. Furthermore there has been much inquiry since, when we will hold another meeting.

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I can't see the point in the proposed organization. Maybe it would be a help. Perhaps many are so accustomed to forms, pledges, etc., that they will do more if "organized," but many would do less, leaving it all to the committee. The organization must be voluntary, then why can't voluntary effort do what is neecessary when the emergency arises? I don't wish to discourage the formation of the organization, but it seems to me that spontaneous co-operation is more in line with our ideal.

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Comrade Holmes' suggestion that Voltairine de Cleyre is the most suitable one to keep in the field as a representative and advocate of Anarchy, is somewhat perplexing. The attitude she constantly holds toward the Communists, and her sneers at the "wood choppers, gardeners and painters" who presume to write for radical papers, makes her far from an all-around representative of our movement.

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What is the matter with Victor E. Southworth as the representative of the proposed organization? The east has been sending speakers west to instruct the rowdy inhabitants of this section; now, why not send a westerner east to startle the conservative easteners?

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In proposing Victor E. Southworth I am not ruling out Jas. F. Morton, for I understand he is to take editorial charge of Free Society, and if he does he won't have time to travel from shore to shore and from the great lakes to the gulf. We would like to have him with us for a week, as we believe his leniage and education would draw out an element we cannot touch, but which, we have every reason to believe, is somewhat interested in radicalism and has no dread of the word Anarchy.

HENRY ADDIS.

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"SENTIMENTS."

The contribution "Mental Barriers" from the pen of our ever interesting little comrade Lizzie . Holmes, which appeared in Free Society January 23, is a most excellent and well written article.

Characteristic of the modern writer, however, I fear she has permitted her thoughts to negelct her pen, namely, leaving her bogie man too obscure for the reader to comprehend. She speaks of sentiment as though it conveyed but one distinct and well defined meaning, while in truth sentiment is a very indefinite term without any settled limitations. The expression of one's opinion, either for good or evil, is a matter of sentiment. Depth, fire, force, sensibility and all human passions are the reflections of sentiment. In the absence of sentiment there would be no love, no hatred, no feeling or desire to act,—we would be mere walking sentry boxes without will or purpose. Who would be foolish enough to deny what he affirms in every thought he expresses? It would be equivalent to denying one's self.

The venal press utters a self-evident truth when it says that the tribute paid at the graves of our murdered comrades on the 11th of November is a matter of sentiment. Our appeal for twelve eventful years has been for sentiment; and across the vale of silence re-echoes a responding sentiment from the lips of the heroic Spies. It is written on his tombstone with prophetic force and poetic beauty, "Our silence will be more powerful in time to come than the voices you strangle today."

Sentiment is the all-absorbing force within us, without it we would cease to feel, think or act. But there are phases of sentiment which we endeavor to hide, one in particular that many of us surround with shadows and guards, to keep others from seeing it. And although we secretly like it we treat it with raillery in public and hide our likes 'neath secret pretenses. Its adherents are legion, yet there are few who do not pigeon hole it when abroad, or dodge parade when they have it with them. And although it wears a most attractive appearance for those whom it addresses, yet, curious to say, few have courage to confess it. This strange phenomenon exists in that highly emotional impulse which a person feels for a particular one of the opposite sex, called love.

We can speak of brotherly and sisterly love, or our love for humanity with cultured ease. But of that fond, tender, deeply intense and most powerful and passionate emotion that queens it in the realm of sentiment, that love most gratifying to the senses, producing the most happiness and to which all other love owes its birth, of this love we speak with a hush as if some one might possibly hear us and learn our thoughts, or that some dark crime were hovering in its wake.

Shadows, forever dodging shadows, afraid to defend a principle which we know to be right for fear of being laughed at by those who are incased in the same armor of defense. When will Anarchists cease building straw men? It's a weak principle that takes wing and flies at sight of a scare-crow. If we blush at our own shadow, how can we hope to accomplish anything in this world of shadows? We should endeavor to learn the cause of this mental derangement and find some method of curing ourselves of the malady.

Like Mrs. Holmes, the moment I became a convert, I ceased to carry a cross; not only did I drop it by the roadside, but I buried it so deep that it will never be resurrected.

Surprise and wonder best conveys the definition of my thoughts toward a class of men who insist on calling themselves Anarchists, yet believe that love must have its face washed, and bed made, after some given rule. True Anarchists have no hitching posts. They have no wise plan to precede the affections and determine all things requisite to happiness ere the dream shall be dreamt. Because one considers his standard the best, it's not for him to decide that others shall be governed by his callipers. It is astonishing to see the amount of mud logic these high priests of isms mix up with their philosophy. They nearly churn their brains to buttermilk to find some way of crowding nature's gifts into special departments and manufacturing things to order without calling in use some special privilege to conduct the enterprise.

Ah, my good ego, we know that the cubic root of 27 is 3, by a well recognized rule that proves itself, but affinities have no mathematical rules or philosophical measurements to go by and so far have proved very hard to analyze. We sometimes think we have them down pat when, lo, the derned things turn science up side down by going the other way.

Oh but, says ego, don't be hasty in forming attachments: consider, educate. But one is not always conscious of his feelings until he stops to ask, "Where am I at?" Too late. Self acting forces within allures the senses and compels action despite reason and circumstance. Inquire into it as we may, we have never been able to find a reason for this that will fully explain itself, so we feel ashamed and try to cover it with a little varnish because Madam Grundy happens to be in the neighborhood and might chance to look our way.

But there is a capacity in every man and woman to love happily if they will exercise that most sacred prerogative, "the right to do as they please on matters pertaining to their own welfare and happiness." Psychological resemblances count for naught where the more distinguishing traits are lacking. The sooner we grasp this truth, the sooner shall we do away with unhappy marriages and artificial friendships. "Know thyself," is a trite saying. But "permit thy neighbor to know himself," would be a good addition.

Now, I have not taken this position to defend what is termed "the coarse and vulgar." But because of the peculiar stand of some of the radical and professed liberal thinkers, in selecting themselves to build what they choose to call intellectual safe-guards around their neighbors. I have never proclaimed myself a free lover unless this article is considered a tacit acknowledgment of such.

However, I have enough in hand defending principles without paying too much attention to covers. I claim to be an anarchist because I believe Anarchy to be the shortest cut and its salutatory the most inviting and complete exposition of freedom yet conceived of. I advocate what I believe to be its principles without feeling called upon to defend every argument that takes shelter in its name.

This much I shall say in defense of the position I have taken in this article, however. Having been brought up under strict orthodox rules myself, I married one of the true puritan disciples from that school. Up to twelve years ago I remained what might be strictly termed conservative. The hanging of Spies, Parsons, Engel and Fischer and what I shall ever believe, the murder of Louis Lingg in his cell, changed the whole tenor of my life, making me more extremely radical than I had been conservative. As a student of Anarchism, I graduated under that most estimable and tireless little worker Lizzie M. Holmes. Under her training I entered the arena to fight the good fight and to these first lessons do I feel indebted for my deepest impressions and strongest convictions.

But notwithstanding all this, I had home surroundings which must naturally have their effect; not that my wife interposed, (she is one of those rare characters that loves sincerity of purpose however much in opposition it may be to her own), but there was the atmosphere of conventionality in her presence which I inhaled and which not only invited, but received my respect. I say this not by way of apology, but because it may offer some explanation to the following. I have not yet discarded what some may term my moral code; sincerely speaking, I hope I never shall. Conventional atmosphere, perhaps some of you will say. But I think not. I believe it's purely a natural taste that would follow me among the hottentots. I find myself constantly avoiding those whose language, while expressing opinions, is repulsive to me, not that I care to be disrespecful—I seemingly have no choice in the matter. Coarse and vulgar language disgusts me and and finds no welcome in my thoughts. Not that I desire it so, but it is so. I have no apology, no explanation for it.

I have not made these statements to air my views, or to thrust my particular code down the throats of those who hold different views from myself. But to show that universal laws cannot be made to order to fit any particular code because the ones who propose it imagine that their standard is the highest and best. The absurdity of trying to make one man eat watermelons according to the capacity of another man's stomach is fully illustrated in our present systems. No man's mental callipers are big enough to measure the human race. Why waste time trying? We are just what we are. No more, no less, no matter what we may think of ourselves. We cannot deny our instincts nor avoid ourselves, therefore no one of us is qualified to build standards for others.

Maywood, Ill. L. S. OLIVER.

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"If a man walks in the woods for love of them half of each day, he is in danger of being regarded as a loafer; but if he spends his whole day as a speculator, shearing off those woods and making earth bald before her time, he is esteemed an industrious and enterprising citizen. As if a town had no interest in its forests but to cut them down!"—Thoreau.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

For Boston.

A Paris Commune commemoration will be held in Caledonia Hall, 45 Elliot street, on Sunday, March 18, 7 30 p. m. After the lecture songs and recitations will be given in the English, German and Italian languages.

Everybody welcome.

For New York City.

The friend and agent of Free Socity, M. Maisel, 254 Madison St., has purchased a hundred dollars' worth of tickets for the performance of the tragedy "Der Juedische Koenig Lear," on March 6 at the Thalia Theatre, the proceeds of which he will contribute to the fund for enlarging Free Society, and therefore kindly asks the comrades to assist him in selling the tickets to the best advantage possible.

For Chicago.

A grand ball will be given by the International Workingmen's Group for the benefit of the Jewish weekly, Freie Arbeiter-Stimme and Free Society, March 3, 8 p. m., at the Lessing's Club House, 447 W. Tailor St.

Admission 25 cents. Tickets can be secured from the undersigned.

All friends of our cause are cordially invited.

222 DeKoven St. CHAS. KLEINMAN, Sec.

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The number printed on the wrapper of your paper shows that your subscription has been paid up to that number.

REJOINDERS.

After devouring the contents of No. 251 of Free Society, I feel called upon to make a few remarks. The manner in which L. S. Oliver conducted his inquest over the remains of Beveridge's carrion speech, was a great compensation for the evil effects I felt while reading the same. If Comrade Oliver's masterly criticism of the senator's speech could circulate side by side with that bejeweled and bedamned iniquity, the "finger of God," so apparent to Beveridge, would not gull the sense of the average loyal Republican.

When men are so loyal to their party that they will turn their backs upon the traditions of their forefathers, who died for the same principles that actuate the Filipinos in their present defensive war, let us be thankful that there are "differences among Anarchists," in so far as they boldly sift the judgment and ideas of their fellows. The world is in sore need of a loyalty based upon self-reliant thought and not upon creed or party fealty.

* * *

A. L. Ballou's review of "Moribund Society and Anarchy" will, I hope, induce those who have not read the incomparable picture of a dying society, as portrayed by the noble Jean Grave, to send for at least one copy of the same. Comrade Holmes' suggestion is a good one, and I send 50 cents for two copies of "Moribund Society" to be used as missionaries in the cause of liberty. Who will be the next to do likewise? If we do our part, we will lift a burden from those who publish our paper, and every thoughtful man or woman who can be induced to read Grave's essay will be bound to lean toward the ideal of liberty.

* * *

I am a staunch admirer of W. Holmes, as regards his views on most questions. As a rule he has a reasonable and fraternal manner in his presentation of a subject, in a word, he lubricates his logic with the milk of human kindness. But I draw the line at Anarchist judges, lawyers, etc. I cannot agree with him in his view that "an Anarchist would be less prone to abuse power than a conservative." With A. I. I fully agree. Theories do not always control actions; the latter are ruled largely by heredity and environments. No man, but will be gradually led astray if placed in a position where he compromises with principles. KATE AUSTIN.

LOGIC AND FACT.

I assure Mr. Byington I had no idea he would abandon his "played out method of argument," whose "poverty" consists in this, that it is merely "a controversial trick;" aiming not at the establishment of facts, but only at finding (or making) flaws in "the other fellow's attorney's" logic. That Mr. Byington "could not have asked a completer victory" proves only what I knew before, that he was talking to show his smartness, not to arrive at truth; for he can hardly pretend his "scattering shot" have anything to show that saving does not discourage production, or that what discourages production can possibly cause anything else than poverty to the many for the benefit of a few. This transparent fault in his "method" he may not be quite so much "encouraged to repeat," when he finds I won't let him lead me away from the issue. I could easily show that the alleged inconsistencies in my statements are in his garbled citations of them; but I will take no such trouble, because that would be gratifying him with a discussion irrelevant to the issue. The issue is not whether I am a good logician or a bad one; not whether Mr. Byington can make my logic appear bad by misstating it; least of all whether he can prolong indefinitely his fusilade of Liliputian arrows. I readily grant he can. Anyone can. The "poor controversial trick" consists in obscuring the true point with a snow-storm of such powerless but, to the inexperienced, perplexing weapons. I have met too many opponents of Mr. Byington's grade not to understand their tactics; so when I meet one now, I do like Gulliver on a similar occasion—put on my spectacles, keep the pigmy darts out of my eyes, and go the straighter for the fleet of Blefuscu.

Whether I have contradicted myself or not, it remains true, until refuted, (1) that production is the source of wealth; (2) that every producer can make a great deal more of his own product than he has any use for; (3) that there is no motive for doing this, except to exchange products with others; (4) that exchange thus creates wealth—through production, which it stimulates; (5) that saving, since it is the inverse proposition of exchang, checks production, and with production increase of wealth. Will Mr. Byington refute some of these assertions, or admit that he has been talking through his hat?

* * *

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a penalty for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist in the United States or any part of the tarritories subject thereto." Nevertheless, Albina Washburn remarks that baby-stealing and baby-selling is industriously practiced by the W. C. T. U. The W. C. T U has a baby-stealing and baby-selling emporium in Eau Claire, Wis. The babies have not been duly convicted of crime. Remarkable coincidence, neither have the ten million people of the Philippine Islands. Yet Bloody Bill (McK.) bought them, for $20,000,000, from less bloody Spain (which could not deliever the goods); and Slave-Trader Ted (Roosevelt) proposes selling them to Bloody Bill's English masters.

* * *

Lizzie M. Holmes remarks very judiciously that Anarchism, once realized, is an open gate into all human experience. The Anarchist, as such, can antagonize no human instinct. He wars against nothing but suppression of such instincts. Then why do so many Anarchistic (?) logicians (?), materialists, egoists, etc., wave war against "sentiment," which is the chief part of human nature? I suspect if Lizzie gets better acquainted with these gentry she will find their Anarchism never went beyond a perception that Anarchism, a doctrine growing in public favor, could be defended on materialistic and egoistic principles; which is true only because anything can. C. L. JAMES.

The Letter-Box.

J. J., Toronto, Canada.—Never mind, comrade. We have a hard struggle to keep things going, but notwithstanding have never refused to send the paper to anyone who is anxious to read it on account of poverty. All we ask is to let us know whether or not the paper is wanted.

L. P, Jamacia Plains, Mass.—Having good speakers permanently in the field would, of course, be of great advantage, but our press should not be neglected as it is today. Wendell Philips said many years ago: "Let me make the newspapers and I care not what is preached in the pulpit or what is enacted in Congress." And if every reader of an Anarchist paper would try to get one subscriber in a year, our press would soon make itself felt and the publishers not have to live on wind-pudding.

W. R., Kansas City, Mo.—Not only "has the sex question been neglected for some time," but also many other things relating to current issues, simply because so many subscribers *neglect* to pay their subscriptions and in consequence we are compelled to devote much of our time elsewhere in order to "make both ends meet."

A. N., Trenton, N. J.—Communication was duly received. You'll soon hear from us.

H. C, Santa Cruz, Calif.—We were glad to hear that you like our ideas; but, if so, how can you "see much good in State Socialism?" Anarchists strive for freedom, while State Socialism would put people into abject slavery—much more so than at present. Greetings.

Colorado.—Comrada Morton lectures at present in Kansas, and will be in Denver March 9. His address is still care of C. Nold, 110 S. 16th St., St. Louis, Mo.

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